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SOME NOTES ON THE PAWUMWA INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

By J. D. HASEMAN¹

DURING 1907-1910 I was in central South America collecting fishes and other fresh-water animals for the Carnegie Museum. The appended map gives the route of the expedition. Throughout this long journey I was the only white man on any of the interior trips. No interpreters were employed, and therefore I was forced to learn some of the native, including Indian, dialects, in various parts of South America. As a result I obtained considerable first-hand knowledge of many tribes of South American Indians. I had previously been on two blind-fish expeditions to the caves of Cuba, and my experience with the natives of that island made it easier for me to regard the Indian from his own viewpoint rather than from that of a white man. The observations recorded in these pages are in a measure the result of three years of field work as a naturalist in tropical America.

The purpose of this paper is not to give my experiences with numerous South American tribes of Indians which are more or less civilized or have been directly or indirectly influenced by civilization during the last three centuries: it is to give my observations on one tribe, the Pawumwa, who are apparently unknown to science and live under conditions little or not at all affected by the civilization of the white man.

My observations have led me to the conclusion that the South American Indians are a nervous, excitable, cowardly race; that they have become dangerous only after contact with the whites, and must not be regarded as cannibals.

The map (fig. 46) and notes published in this paper will also

¹ I am indebted to the Carnegie Museum for the opportunity to explore central South America. For a fuller account of the expedition see *Ann. Rep. Carnegie Museum*, 1911. I am also indebted to Dr R. H. Lowie and Dr L. J. Frachtenberg for their assistance in preparing these notes.

indicate the regions of South America covered by my travels in which primitive Indians live. I therefore hope to arouse an interest in these areas and make an appeal that exploration be undertaken promptly, lest primitive conditions be destroyed by the *serringueiros* (rubber cutters) before modern scientific study of them can be made.

Before presenting the observations on the Pawumwa Indians, it must be noted that great difficulty was encountered in learning even a few words of their language during my brief acquaintance with them. I was unable to take any skull measurements, because the natives could not understand their importance. My photographs of them were spoiled in passing the twenty-seven Madeira-Mamoré falls during the rainy season. However, the imperfect study of these Indians here presented may be of some interest in view of the fact that Rio Guaporé has been descended by only one other naturalist, Johannes Natterer.

During the first two years of active field-work in the interior of South America I was unable to meet primitive Indians. I saw many signs of Indians, but the more primitive ones always fled on my approach. It was therefore necessary for me to forego my desire to meet absolutely primitive Indians in favor of the hope to find a tribe that was influenced just enough to accept the friendship of the white man. This hope was finally realized during August, 1909, along the lower course of the Rio Guaporé.

Near the mouth of Rio São Miguel is a rubber camp that has recently been established on the Brazilian side of Rio Guaporé. Great care was taken in exploring and opening a road into the dense forest between the fork of Rio São Miguel and Rio Guaporé, because all this region was known to be a hunting ground of Indians. An old negro in charge of the establishment of the rubber camp gave me the following account of their first contact with the Pawumwa Indians.

They had been at work for about two months and had seen no Indians. Each morning they crossed the Guaporé to their work on the Brazilian side, and each evening they recrossed to sleep on the Bolivian side. One evening, when they were returning to their canoe, they were confronted by a large Indian, who proved

to be the chief. He rushed toward the old negro and his companions, shouting all the time, but the negro stood his ground and ordered his companions not to shoot. He embraced the chief, who then whistled, when suddenly many warriors appeared from all sides. The chief then went in advance toward the canoe in order to pacify the warriors whom he had stationed there to finish the slaughter if a battle had ensued.

The rubber cutters took the trembling Indians across the Guaporé to their temporary camp on the Bolivian side. They exchanged presents, but the Indians trembled with fear and did not sleep during the following night. The next morning the rubber gatherers took the Indians back to Brazilian territory, and the two parties separated without being able to understand a word of each other's language, though the old negro had companions who spoke the languages of the Parecis, Paucerne, Guarani, Chiquitano, and Guarayos.

About a year later a few of the same Indians, with several other tribesmen, came back to the rubber camp. The good old negro prohibited any sort of abuse of the Indians, in the hope of establishing a treaty with them. This visit was followed by another. I had the good fortune of being present during the fourth visit, in August, 1909. At that time a petty chief with some twenty followers came down from the headwaters of Rio São Miguel to fish in Rio Guaporé. It was his first appearance at the rubber camp. A few days later a greater chief arrived with about fifty followers, this being his second visit to the camp.

Before giving my observations on these Indians I think it desirable to present a brief description of this part of Brazil. The Guaporé is one of the most picturesque and interesting rivers of tropical South America. It rises on the sand-capped barren highlands of Matto Grosso, Brazil, near one of the headwaters of Rio Paraguay. After flowing southward and westward for almost two hundred miles, it makes an elbow-bend, flows northward and north-westward, and finally empties into Rio Mamoré. From Villa de Matto Grosso (Villa Bella, the first capital of Matto Grosso) to the Mamoré, it has a continuous dense tropical forest along both

margins, excepting in two places, one of which is known as Campos dos Veados and contains about sixteen square miles of grassy plains. Naturally, some ten miles or more inland from each margin of the river, *campos* are found as soon as one leaves the dense forest and approaches the distant faces of the dissected highland along whose bases much sand is deposited. The highlands are capped with sandstone of Permian age; hence Rio Guaporé is, geologically speaking, very old. Its age is shown by the great width (one hundred miles) of the valley in its central course and by the vast amount of the highland that has been eroded and washed away. This great transformation of the highland brought about by a long interval of erosion has produced complex environments where the evolution of plants and animals has reached its climax. The forests are rich in nuts, fruits, game birds, and animals; the rivers abound in fish and turtles. Hence the Pawumwa Indians are surrounded by the richest natural resources offered to primitive man. The climate is usually a delightful tropical one, especially during the dry season (April to October), excepting for an occasional cold southwest wind, therefore little clothing is needed. The region is, however, poor in mineral deposits, consequently wooden implements are to be expected. The region is infested with ticks, flies, mosquitoes, fevers, etc., but it is not so inhospitable to man as regions of lower altitude, like the central course of Rio Madeira.

When I first met the Pawumwa they were shaking with fear. Even after I had learned a few words of their language, they would run and hide. They were at first very suspicious and ever ready to steal and to deceive me, but after I had gained their confidence, they were a "jolly lot of children," and not at all stoical. At first one would call an object by one name, while another individual would give it a different name. I finally called a dozen of them together and seated them in front of me. In less than five minutes they became restless, but during similar short interviews I was at last able to get a small list of words confirmed by several individuals all answering at the same time. This study progressed more rapidly after I was able to make them understand that I was going to return and present them with clothing, beads, firearms, fish-

hooks, etc. After about two weeks, I was able to take them with me when I seined the river. Often I would present them with a canoe load of fish. This perhaps more than anything else caused these Indians to regard me as the greatest of great chiefs. In fact several individuals wanted to join my people. Even the daughter of one of their greater chiefs voluntarily offered to go to "my tribe".

They were extremely excitable and emotional, and easily frightened, as are most men living in similar regions where, day and night, one must always be prepared to fight some human or animal enemy. They begged me to give them a gun, because a *pum* (report of a gun) would be sufficient to scare away the inimical tribes farther inland, of whom they were in fear. These inland tribes are unknown—they may be Nymbycuaras found on the highlands along Rio Jurueña of Rio Tapajos.¹

Most of the Pawumwa Indians are short and thick-set, but a few individuals are tall and slender. For the greater part they have round heads, but the shape of the head also varies a great deal. Their color varies from dark copper to light copper. The trunk is well developed, but the arms and legs are rather slender. Their backs are flat, as appears to be the rule when men sleep constantly on the ground. Like all other primitive Indians, they are not strong in our athletic sense. I could lift more, and could out-run and out-throw them, but they exhibited greater endurance. For example, they could carry a load of fifty to a hundred pounds all day without resting, and this I was unable to do.

On a limited scale they plant tobacco, corn, mandioca, and a few other plants. They kill part of the timber and burn the brush, then the seeds are placed in holes made with pointed sticks of hard wood. This planting is done near their permanent village, situated on the headwaters of Rio São Miguel. All work together, and the chief always obtains more of the crop than any of his tribesmen. If any one refuses to assist in planting, the chief forces him to work. I saw one Indian with a long scar on the side of his head and neck, the result of punishment for laziness. The chief struck him with his four-foot heavy black *cereve* (palm) sword, sharpened on both

¹ Cf. *Brazilian Telegraph Com. Report, 1909-1910.*

edges. The Indian said that he slept fourteen times (days) before he awoke and should never refuse to obey the chief.

The chief himself is not always the largest man in the tribe, nor the strongest; but he is a very serious or wise-looking individual, and is always taciturn. The son of a chief does not inherit the position unless he has these characteristics. I saw the son of one of their dead "great chiefs" and he belonged to a little chieftain's tribe. They had one great chief, two others of different grade below him, and three little chiefs. In regard to important questions, like war with hostile tribes, they obey the great chief. The greatness of the chief is measured by the number of his followers. I met one young little chief who had only seven followers; but he impressed me as being wiser than some of the greater chiefs, and as the number of his followers increases, he will probably usurp the place of a higher chief and finally become the great chief. This is done even at the expense of intra-tribal warfare, or else by murdering the greater chief and then usurping his position. In fact they often have individual and intra-tribal fights over women and over individuals who leave one petty chief to join another petty band.

The tribe consisted of about three hundred individuals. Their hunting ground covered at least nine hundred square miles. This estimate is as low as can possibly be made for forest Indians who supplement the natural products by small plantings, and it will give an idea of how many Indians might have existed in South America during pre-Columbian times. But three square miles per individual is too low an estimate when we take into consideration the scanty natural products on the highlands and in the various desert-like regions of South America. The existence of a crude form of agriculture does not prove that these Indians are not primitive, for I believe that both before and after the discovery most South American Indians cultivated certain plants in greater or less quantities, the species varying with the location of the tribe and including mandioca, peanuts, tobacco, corn, and the cane.

Around their camp I had an opportunity to observe some of the customs and habits of the Pawumwa. They usually went hunting with bows and arrows early in the morning, and often shot fish

along the banks of the river. One day the petty chief shot an electric eel. He attempted to cut off its head with my hunting knife, but as soon as the knife touched the eel he tumbled with a grunt to the ground. He was intelligent enough not to use the knife a second time, so he killed the eel with a club and then roasted it. They roast fish with scales, intestines, and all intact, over hot coals by placing them on green limbs tied with bark to a tripod. As soon as the fish are roasted, the father and mother and their smaller children eat together. The boys and girls pair off, and as a rule the boys who capture the most game have the choice of the girls.

They do not eat anything seasoned with salt, hence they did not like my food. I am inclined to connect their peculiar wild odor with the lack of salt in their food: at any rate two individuals who were taught to eat salt-seasoned food lost this peculiar odor. Their perspiration was tasted and it lacked salinity. They bathe at least twice a day, even when they have the fever, in order to cool their bodies, hence the peculiar wild odor is not due to lack of bathing. The absence of an excess of salt may in some way change the nature of the external secretions and excretions, or else permit a greater decomposition of them on the surface of their bodies. At any rate animals and Indians that eat an excess of salt (NaCl) do not have such strong and offensive odors as do those obtaining the salts necessary for a correct osmotic pressure in the blood from only plants and the flesh of other animals. I offer this view only as a suggestion, which I hope will be tested by experiments, as it may be of importance in the case of all animals living in regions devoid of salt licks. If it be only true in part, then the decomposition of waste products in the case where no special odor glands are known may be a means by which animal species are able to detect one another. At all events one can actually smell the trail passed by an old forest jaguar or a Pawumwa Indian for many minutes after either has passed.

The Pawumwa eat almost any kind of animals. They do not, however, eat snakes, though they relish alligators and monkeys. They take advantage of the abundance of fish in the rivers. They are constantly roasting and eating, for they never or seldom eat a large meal, preferring to mince all day and part of the night.

As soon as the girls are old enough to be courted they have their lips pierced. A long cylindrical olive-colored *inóokdt* made from the resin of the *porora* tree is inserted in the lower lip, and a shorter stud made from the same resin is inserted in the upper lip (fig. 47). This ceremony is performed by the chief, and usually takes place about the time of puberty or a little before (often before nine years of age in the better developed girls). The incisions are made with sharpened splinters (knives) of *taquara-ussú* (big bamboo). This is a sign that the boys and unmarried men may court these girls. The suitor is usually more successful if he is a good hunter and fisherman. He gathers the game and sits down by the girl, who roasts it. In this way the girls become accustomed to the boys and men, with whom they sleep around the camp-fires. Later they are given a husband by the chief and are usually married to a man of the same subtribe.

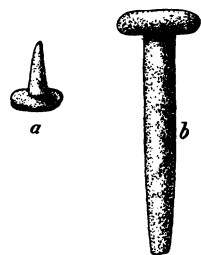


FIG. 47.—Lip plugs of resin from the *porora* tree (*a* for upper lip; *b* for lower lip).

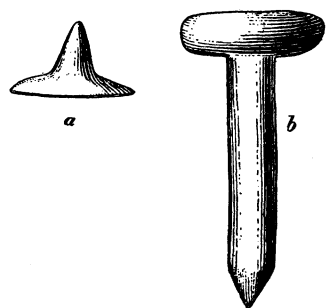


FIG. 48.—Lip plugs of white quartz, (*a* for the upper lip; *b* for the lower lip).

When the girls are married, often at from nine to twelve years of age, the *inóokdt* is taken out, and a larger incision is made and a *pikín* stone inserted (fig. 48). This is a piece of polished white quartz, which comes from the hill or small mountain known by the same name. I offered some presents to an Indian if he would obtain for me a set of these stones, but when he attempted to take those of his wife, she ran to the chief and the husband received a severe flogging. These stones must not be removed from the lips of a married woman, because they are a sign of wedlock, and their loss may be punished by death. They are not used for personal adornment, but serve as a kind of marriage certificate. Their peculiar customs of marriage often lead to quarrels over girls and women among the male members of the tribe, and even between men of different subtribes. The family ties are not held sacred.

Most of these Indians were entirely naked, but I later learned that some of them had taken off their bark clothes in order to beg clothing. This gave exceptional opportunity to observe their body markings, etc. The majority were badly scarred by insect bites and other wounds, but I was unable to detect any signs of syphilis or other venereal diseases common among Europeans. They pluck the hairs from the arm-pits, groin, eyebrows, and eyelashes; in fact no hairs were seen excepting the long hair of their heads. They claim that they can see better without eyebrows and eyelashes, while the body hairs are pulled out so as not to harbor vermin. They all have lice on their heads, and, as is quite common among South American Indians, they either eat them or kill them with their teeth. I have often seen girls catching lice off one another's heads. The first louse captured is devoured by the owner, while all caught thereafter are crushed by the teeth of the catcher. In the above case, the pulling out of body hairs appears to be useful to them and not an attempt to beautify their bodies. The absence of salt in their perspiration also appears to be connected with the pulling out of body hairs. The sweat does not inflame their eyes, and with absence of clothing the arm-pits and groin are not chafed.

The men insert a short stick the size of a match-stem in the lower lip. This, they claim, helps them to place their tongues in various positions when they mimic the calls of birds and game animals. Nearly all men and sexually mature boys, and especially unmarried men, tie a string around the end of the penis (at least when they have no bark clothing), which is then stretched up and tied to a string that encircles the abdomen. This custom is, I believe, a sign of modesty.

Both sexes wear a small short stick in the nasal septum, the ends protruding into the nostrils. This peculiar custom is associated with a primitive idea of medicine. They claim that disease is something solid and travels in a straight line like an arrow, while air is like nothing and can bend corners. Hence, when they breathe the disease strikes the end of the stick and falls out of their nostrils, while the purified air passes into their lungs. Both sexes also wear sticks in the lobes of their ears, but I was unable to obtain any explanation of this custom.

Both sexes also tie bandages around their wrists, in some cases around their forearm and biceps and their ankles and calves. They claim that these bandages prevent poisonous snake bites from killing them. It is conceivable that some former medicine-man found that by checking the circulation of the blood through a limb thus wounded, the sudden depression of the respiratory and circulatory organs was prevented. After his death, it is possible that the Indians adopted the habit of bandaging the limbs because they considered it useful. At any rate, great constrictions of the arms and legs due to bandaging are not to be considered a thing of personal ornament, for I observed that the boys with more perfect physiques were usually more successful in making love to the girls.

The Pawumwa use palm spines dipped in a fruit known in Brazil as *jenepapa* to make black designs in their skins. Their system of tattooing is mostly for tribal distinction, especially in case of battle. The daughter of the chief was marked differently from the other girls. One young girl, about ten years of age and wearing an *inóokòt*, had tattooed lines extending from her knees over her thighs. These lines met in an arch beneath the navel, whence two lines extended to the vulva and two to the mammary glands. Lines extended from the breasts to the neck, and others traversed the forehead and cheeks. I was unable to determine the meaning of the tattoo devices. As a rule, black tattooed lines are found on the legs, arms, lips, nose, cheeks, and above the eyes.

Most of the implements of these Indians are of wood, but this is due to the environment in which they live. Metals, flint, etc., are not found on their hunting grounds. They have lip stones for married women, as above noted, and also crude axes and grain and nut crackers made of stone. They manufacture some large undecorated earthenware pots for use in making a beverage from chewed corn, and smaller pots in which arrow poison is brewed. Their knives are made by sharpening dried splinters of *taquara-ussú* with the two gnawing teeth of agouti, a rodent. Arrows also are made from *taquara-ussú*. In addition, they made arrow-points from hardwood, *cereve* palm; catfish spines, sharpened bones of animals (usually the femur of a monkey), and human bones obtained from brave enemies killed in battle.

The poisoned hard-wood arrows have a cotton string wrapped around the slender point, which is soaked with a black poison. The arrow-point is almost cut in two, so that it will break off in the animal when it is shot. They carry the poisoned arrows in bamboo tubes. They also have *taguara* blow-guns, about six feet in length. The arrows or delicate darts used in these guns are usually made from palm splinters. They wrap cotton around one end and poison the other end of the splinter. When this is inserted in the blow-gun, they blow against the cotton, and the dart shoots forth, enabling them to kill monkeys in the tallest trees. The poison is boiled from a vine called *awan*, which they would not show to me. The poison collects as a black tar on the boiling water. It is very probably *curaré*, but the poisoned arrows left at the Carnegie Museum have not been chemically examined. The bows are about five feet long and made from a hard black palm. The bow-string is thick and is made from native wild cotton.

Their clothing, when they have any, is made from the beaten bark of the wild fig-tree known in Brazil as *figueira*. They plait small cotton and bark fiber hammocks, but prefer to sleep on the ground with their feet turned toward the fire. I did not see any hats, and they appear to lack the skill of plaiting and weaving that is so well developed among the other tribes of South America. However, they exhibit great skill in fastening split feathers to the reed end of their arrows. This is a tribal marking, though I was unable to see how they could distinguish their bark wrappings for holding the arrow-points and their string wrappings for holding the feathers to reed ends from similar arrows of other tribes. But then any Pawumwa could without hesitation identify the arrows—always shouting "*Kabiciⁿ!*" when shown arrows from other tribes. They also had a feather headgear used both to frighten the enemy and to deceive themselves by thinking that they were cunning and fleet like some animals.

Their huts are very simple, being made by tying poles together and sticking one end in the ground and then making a thatched roof of either grass or palm leaves. They make a drink by chewing corn and spitting it into an earthen pot, where it is allowed to

ferment; it is then filtered through leaves and kept till a certain moon in August. At this time they hold a tribal meeting, but I failed to ascertain its meaning, though it may have a religious significance. The Pawumwa have no dogs.

When we compare the Pawumwa with the Incas or with white men, they appear to be of an inferior type, but such a comparison should not be drawn. We should regard them with reference to the existing and past relations among themselves and to the other living things found in their environment. When this is done, we see that they are highly specialized for life under existing conditions. In fact they are keen, close observers, and know the properties of most food and poisonous plants and animals. In short, their mode of life is adjusted to meet the existing conditions of the jungle.

I often went seining with the Pawumwa. They were always afraid of alligators, large snakes, and the like. Their fear was shown especially on one occasion when they turned loose one end of my large seine and fled to a sandbar when an alligator swam against the net. I had been at work for almost two hours removing the limbs and water plants so as to make a large catch of fish, but as soon as the alligator struck the net, the Indians turned it loose and hastened to the bank, shouting all the while. This incident impressed me with the cowardice of the natives. In battle they become so excited that little danger is encountered after their first round of arrows is discharged. Numerous cases, including a personal experience at the waterfall of Forto Principe da Biera on the lower Rio Guaporé, leave little doubt in my mind that primitive South American Indians are cowardly and become really dangerous only after coming in contact with white men.

The Pawumwa are not cannibals, nor are any of the South American Indians found in the region traversed by me. As already stated, the Pawumwa use the bones of slain enemies to make points for arrows, because such are supposed to be more effective. One always hears from the natives that the people of the next tribe are cannibals, but when one arrives it is always the next tribe, and so on. I have never met a man who has actually seen natives eating human flesh. The evidence is always indirect, such as teeth driven

in boards, skulls on poles, human bones made into arrow-points, etc. The Indians may boil the meat off the bones when they want them, but this is usually unnecessary because the tropical ants, bugs, flies, and other creatures, especially armadillos, soon clean a skeleton. If Indians camp or roast their game near such skeletons, they are at once considered cannibals by the civilized natives. I met the father of a boy who had been killed in the Serra de Pacas Novas, which is on the Brazilian side of the Guaja-mirim waterfall of Rio Mamoré. The father and the other hunters buried the boy after repulsing the Indians. A few days later they went back after the remains of the boy, but found only his bones and signs of a campfire. The father felt certain that the Indians ate his boy, but when I questioned him about the alleged cooked meat and the hair and bones he was unable to give any evidence in proof of his contention. Sensational explorers are always prone to spread what their guides and native interpreters tell them. For my part, I doubt the existence of cannibalism in any part of South America, at least during historic times.

I hope that these imperfect notes on the Pawumwa will stimulate a thorough study of the few remaining tribes of primitive Indians before the rubber cutters shall have demoralized them. Let us also hope that the explorers of the future will break away from the beaten trails of civilization and study any of the following regions, which are designated by crosses on the map.

1. The Brazilian side of the lower Guaporé and Mamoré rivers extending eastward to the headwaters of Rio Tapajos and Rio Xingu.

2. The region northeast of Manaus far into the regions between the headwaters of Rio Trombetas and Rio Branco.

3. The region of the Andean affluents of Rio Negro.

4. The East Andean region south of Rio Beni.

Of these four regions the portion between Rio Guaporé and Rio Tapajos is the least known. In fact only a small portion of this vast area was traversed by the Brazilian Telegraph Commission during 1909 and 1910.

The accompanying map (page 334) shows the route of the

writer marked in continuous dotted lines. The dotted area on the Brazilian side of Rio Guaporé marks the hunting ground of the Pawumwa Indians. The areas marked with crosses designate the regions where primitive Indians may be found.¹

The following brief vocabulary of the Pawumwa language was obtained with great difficulty, because none of the neighboring Indian tribes could speak this language. I originally spelled the words in accordance with the Brazilian system of writing Indian languages, such as Guarani. As I had not been consistent in the use of some of the symbols, it was desirable to have the list revised by some one conversant with the methods ordinarily employed in rendering the sounds of unwritten languages. This was done by Dr R. H. Lowie, for whom I pronounced each word in the vocabulary according to the best of my recollection. Though the phonetic value of my list is admittedly slight, it may prove of some use to students of South American linguistics.

Vowels have their continental values: ⁿ indicates nasalization; *tc* represents "ch" in English "church"; *c* the sound of English "sh" in "hush"; *j* French "j" in "jour." I had difficulty in distinguishing the sounds of *n* and *m*.

Vocabulary

ĩtopi', hat	ĩparama'tci, neck
katũ'wa ⁿ , fish	tra'ĩ'tci, ² ear
mõ'kokamare'm, <i>imbira</i> (Guarani tree giving bark string)	tupaka'tci, mouth
a'tipētcī', head	kā'rati'tci, chest
makuwamnatci, hand	ĩ'ritci, nose
pĩkirina'tci, arm	tu'kitci, eyes
	pĩtci'kina'tci, nails or claws

¹ A fairly complete bibliography of the literature on the semi-civilized tribes of central South American Indians is found in Dr H. von Ihering's paper on the *Anthropology of the State of São Paulo, Brazil*, second enlarged edition, published in 1906 by the *Diário Oficial*, São Paulo. The following may also be consulted: Telemaco Borba, *Observações sobre os indigenos do estado do Parana*, *Rev. do Museu Paulista*, vol. vi, 1905. Ricardo Krone, *Informações Ethnographicas do Valle do Rio Ribeira de Iguapé*. *Commissão Geographica e Geologico do Estado São Paulo*; São Paulo, 1908. Consular report on the Paraguayan Indians, by Dr I. Poter, 1907, may also be mentioned here.

² I noted at first *trahũci*, but the *h* is not pronounced as an aspirate and may have denoted a glottal catch.

kata'mtci, foot	mapanā'na, lazy, tired
ti'nitci, hair	mōkū'm, leaf
i'titci, teeth	jahū'mune, I am going
na'makwa'm, earth, or soil	tū'ro (tō'ro?), hut, or <i>aldeia</i>
atiri'm, grass, or leaves, to cover a hut	tiki', vessel, bottle, basin
gwa'piru', sun	ka'ukri'gna, image, in looking glass, etc.
āwī'n, bananas	tahū't, tree
akū'pa, mandioca	brahū'nwa, old man, aged
atcukā'u, sugar cane	pa'kaawa'mna, I am hungry, I want to eat
mū'rū', fariñha	kabi'katci, tongue
pihū'n; <i>jacú</i> (a bird)	pawa'nwam, to breathe
mi'nitci'n, <i>rapadura</i> , or brown sugar, sweet	pa+i'wam, coward
feverē're, peanut.	titi'wam, to hide
tramī'n, <i>arara</i> (a large parrot)	pīraa'wam, to urinate
tūhī'n, parrot	tcīki'n, <i>trahaira</i> , <i>robaffo</i> (a fish)
ino'oko't, resinous labret for unmarried girls	kōtci', <i>piranha</i> , <i>caribe</i> (a fish)
pō'rora', tree giving resin for <i>inóokôts</i>	parī'ra, <i>jacunda</i> (a fish)
piki'n, lip stone of woman	ta+i'vi, <i>leitão</i> (a fish)
tūkara'man, stone	trā'wa'm, <i>sorubim</i> , <i>pirtado</i> (a fish)
irī', bark clothes	tame'k, <i>pacú</i> (a fish)
īki't, knife	krū'kuvī'n, <i>corvina</i> (a fish)
īwī', toucan	arī'ham, <i>bagre</i> (a fish)
kā'rati'tci, heart	imbi', <i>pirarara</i> (a fish)
pana', tree, woods	pī'ambā'na, lemon
ī'toati', <i>bacury</i> palm	panmi', orange
īmē', <i>bigua</i> (snake bird)	patci'ruwa ⁿ , to dress, clothes
kūm, water, river	prini'nprinā'matci, big toe
ū'ruke'm, Rio Guaporé	tipā'ratci, fingers
a'pīta', Rio São Miguel	ā'rapa'tina, pretty
āwa'n, vine from which the arrow poison is extracted	turī'mā'pa, katydid
tra'pa, there is not, all gone, "forget it," <i>no hay</i> (Span.)	ō'hī'ru, gentleman
trūmī', to sleep	truhū', gray
pa'nawu', moon	namatu', namatō'k, mouse, or rat
	nakī'mi'na, very ugly
	ini'nka, fear
	atī'pitci, beard, or whiskers
	hinā'vitci, throat

pitcira'mna, to cut	ūtī'n, star
mi'meri'm, iron, metal	ō'kari', belly
ka'+una, I eat	piku'ri'nutci, shoulders
ka'+tu, food, hungry	kara'ka+u, snake
wimā'na, to smoke	kava+i'no, brave(?)
a+i'wi, tobacco	gwivia'mo, mosquito
pīki'n, small mountain where the Indians get quartz; lip stones of women	karapa'pa, <i>curimata</i> , <i>pappaterra</i> (a fish)
pahū'nmuwa'm, man	ivi', <i>pexe de cachorro</i> (a fish)
je'marima', woman	hīri'tci, nose
marahu'onuwa'm, child	ū'+o'm, fine string
traku', bird (also chicken)	nara'mnō, peccary, hog
ika't, penis	uti'm, <i>mutum</i> (a bird)
rintiri'tci, testicles	hīmi', tapir
tubike'ritci, anus	tapī'm, <i>coati agouti</i> (a rodent)
imā'ukakam, vulva	kabi'ci, "bad man," dangerous, savage, enemy
pawā'mnakaka'm, to copulate	ā'aviri'm, bugio (a monkey)
karatī'kakam, mammary glands	kati', pain, it hurts
imwim, monkey	gwini'hitci, fat
wā'rām, <i>coatá</i> monkey	i'tcē', fire, or flame
kī'na'm, jaguar (the second syllable with rising inflection).	ta'+uhī', honey
	tī'kē, <i>toquari</i> , or Brazil, nuts

LINTON, INDIANA